

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

a century had floated over Fort Pontchartrain. As the red cross of St. George snapped in the brisk November breeze, above the hoarse cheers of rangers and provincials, came the joyous yelps of the fickle savages, who pelted with jeers their former friends, whom they now took to be cowards.

The entire Northwest had indeed passed into the control of the British; but the inhabitants by no means changed their minds when they changed their flag. In thought, in customs, in speech, whatever of civilization there was in the country was French, and so remained for three-quarters of a century.

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

rum, that presents from the great king would be without limit, and that the markets would be the cheapest ever known. These and many other fair promises so reassured Pontiac that he spread the good news far and wide among the Indians, and when Rogers appeared the chief gave him a most hospitable welcome, and even offered to escort him on his journey. Rogers, who was himself a great braggart, confirmed all that had been said at Fort Pitt; and night after night, as ranger and Indian sat by the camp-fire and smoked the pipe of peace, the former told his inquisitive red brother how the English maintained discipline in their forces and handled their armies to the best advantage in battle; also how cloth was made, and iron forged, and what multitudes of white men lived in great cities over seas.

Rogers in all his experience had never before met so noble a son of the forest, and he easily came to understand how great keenness of mind, matched by majesty of appearance, confirmed to Pontiac that ascendancy over the various lake tribes which, by right, belonged to him as the chief of the eldest member of their confederacy. Moreover, the shrewd New Englander knew that with Pontiac and the Ottawas on his side, the French commandant must speedily yield. M. Bellestre, however, made his own surrender as humiliating for himself as possible. On hearing of the approach of the English he set on the flag-staff of the fort a wooden effigy of the British leader's head, on which a crow, supposed to represent M. Bellestre, was engaged in scratching at the brains of his foe. But Pontiac's Indians had made known to their friends at the fort the true condition of affairs, and when the French commandant found himself deserted by his Indian allies, he gave the reluctant order to lower the lilies of France, which for more than half

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

burg, for the minister in whose service, before he had reached two score and ten years, he had worn out his life. Leaving to General Stanwix, who came a year later, the task of building Fort Pitt, Forbes was borne back to Philadelphia to die.

It was almost eleven months after the successful Pennsylvania campaign that Quebec capitulated; and it was not until September, 1760, that Vaudreuil, hemmed in by Amherst and Murray and Haviland, yielded up Montreal, and with it the dominion of the Northwest from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi.¹

Far away from the scene of hostilities the little colony at Detroit stolidly continued in its accustomed ways, regardless of coming changes. On November 29, 1760, Major Robert Rogers drew up his two companies of rangers and his little detachment of Royal Americans, on a grassy plain under the guns of Fort Pontchartrain, and there awaited with composure the reply of the French commandant, M. Bellestre, to the letter of the Marquis Vaudreuil, commanding the surrender of Detroit to the British. Robert Rogers, the leader of the English forces on this delicate mission, was the most famous Indian fighter of his day. Born in the Scotch-Irish settlement of Londonderry, New Hampshire, he began his career as a scout in the Merrimac Valley when he was

¹ Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* treats in a masterly manner of the struggle between France and England. Chapter X. of Green's *Short History of the English People* is devoted to Pitt's work. Macaulay's essay on Lord Chatham treats of this period in retrospect. Thackeray's *Virginians*, in spite of some small inaccuracies, gives the true historical atmosphere of the Braddock expedition. Among the recent successful attempts to deal with the fall of Quebec are Gilbert Parker's *Seats of the Mighty*, and *The Span o' Life*, by William McLennan and J. N. McIlwraith. In *Two Soldiers and a Politician* Clinton Ross shows how the long story of Quebec can be told in a few words.

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

but nineteen years old, and at this time had been in the king's service fourteen years. Taller by three or four inches than the average of his fellow-townsmen whom he led, like them he wore a close-fitting jacket, a warm cap, coarse woollen small-clothes, leggings, and moccasins. A hatchet was thrust into his belt, a powder-horn hung at his side, a long, keen hunting-knife and a trusty musket completed his armament; and a blanket and a knapsack stuffed with bread and raw salt pork, together with a flask of spirits, made up his outfit. He could speak to the Indian or the Frenchman in a language they could understand; he knew every sign of the forest, every wile of his foes, and repeatedly his bravery and coolness had brought him safely through the most critical situations. He lifted a scalp with as little compunction as did any Indian, and counted it the most successful warfare to creep into an Indian encampment by night, to set fire to the lodges, and to make his escape by the light of the flames, with the screams of the doomed savages rejoicing his ears.¹

On his way to Detroit Rogers and his party had been stopped at a place near the present site of Cleveland, by an embassy from the Ottawa chief Pontiac, who claimed to be king and lord of the country.² When French defeat seemed assured, the prudent Pontiac had gone with the other chiefs from the Detroit to the recently surrendered Fort Pitt³ to learn how the Indians were likely to fare under British rule. With short-sighted braggadocio, assurance was given him by the British commandant that the rivers would run with

¹ Joseph B. Walker's sketch of Rogers, *New Hampshire Historical and Genealogical Society Publications*, 1885.

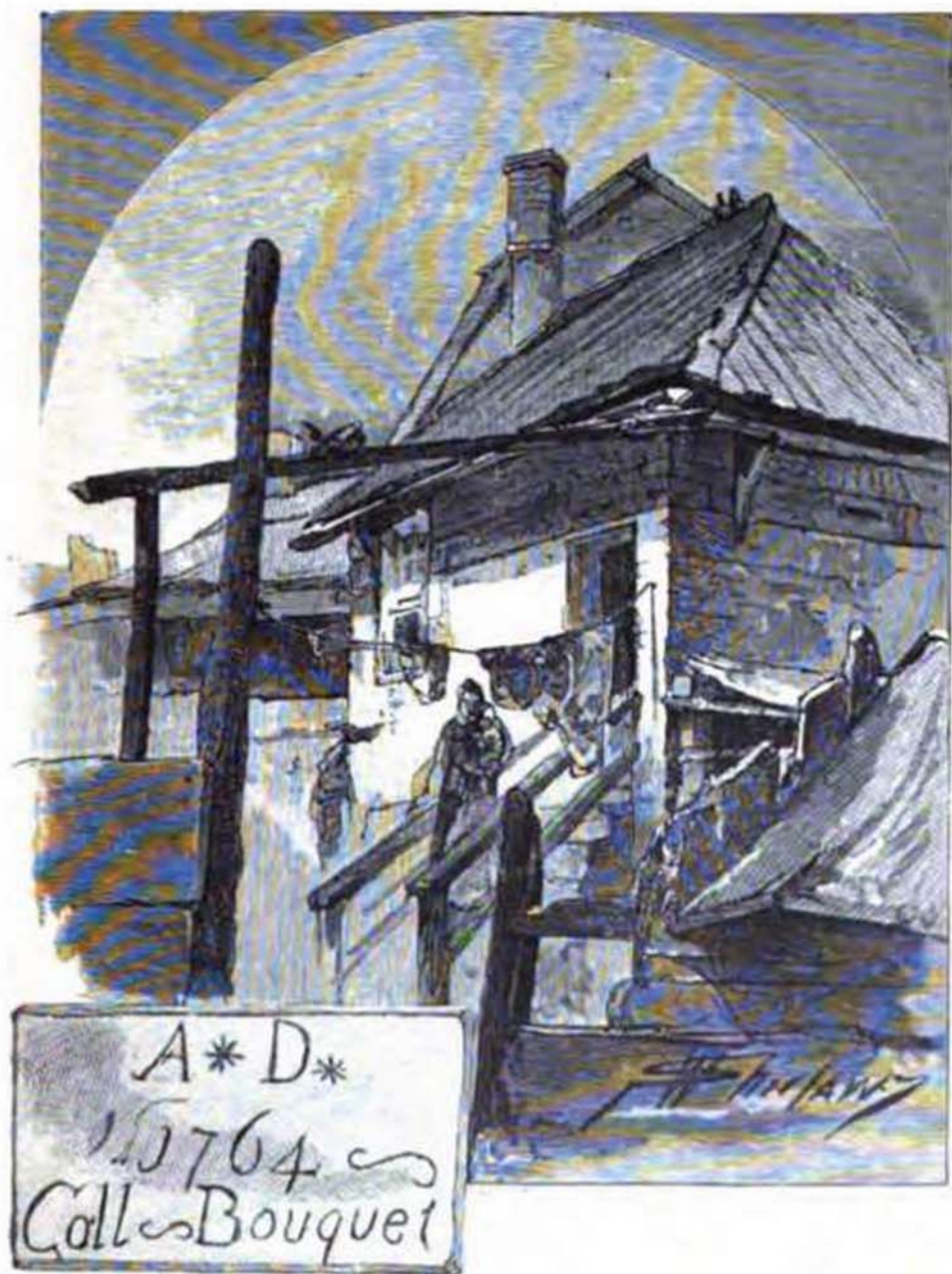
² *Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, London, 1765.

³ James Grant's statement, *Gladwin MSS.*

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

Germans; and George Washington with the Virginia backwoodsmen, who were ever ready to follow him into battle, no matter how reluctant they might afterwards be to submit to discipline; and twelve hundred of Montgomery's Highlanders, clad in the kilt that the Indian derided as a petticoat; and provincials from Maryland and North Carolina—all determined to avenge the Braddock disgrace.

Exhausted by illness, yet steadfast and determined, the persistent Scotch general played by turns the parts of commander, quartermaster, and commissary. His very delays were made to aid his plans, by detaching from the French their Indian allies; and at his command the governor of Pennsylvania negotiated with the Five Nations and their allies the treaty of Easton, with the result that a joint message of peace was sent to the savages of the Ohio. The hazardous mission of Frederick Post, with these tidings of peace; the cruel slaughter of Major Grant's too precipitate advance; and the dispute between Washington and Bouquet as to whether Braddock's road should be used or a new way cut, are all incidents of the terrible November march of the resolute army. From his swaying litter the pain-tortured general directed the movements of his troops as they made their slow way down the bleak slopes of the mountains and on towards the mingling-place of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, only to find a few harmless Indians prowling amid the ruins of a demolished fort. Some to Venango in the north, some to Fort Chartres in the west, the enemy had dispersed. So without a blow fell Fort Duquesne, and with it fell the power of France on the upper Ohio. About the few remaining houses Forbes drew a line of palisades as a defence against the Indians, and this enclosure he named Pitts-



BLOCK-HOUSE OF FORT DUQUESNE

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

gold needed to enable the Prussian emperor to maintain the armies he led with such consummate skill as to make men call him Great. In India "the boy-soldier of Arcot," on June 23, 1757, by the victory of Plassey, laid the foundation of England's East-Indian Empire; and in November, 1759, Admiral Hawke, scorning the shoals and reefs of Quiberon Bay, ruined a French fleet ready to transport a French army gathered to invade England.¹

It was in America particularly that Pitt determined lastingly to punish England's inveterate foe. From his cabinet the generals of his choice went forth to their work animated by a courage and a zeal such as they had never before known. Amherst and Boscawen opened the campaign in 1758 with the reduction of Louisburg, reputed the strongest fortress in the New World; Abercrombie was repulsed at Ticonderoga, but the next year Amherst, the fortress builder, worked his slow but sure way from the Hudson to the St. Lawrence. The tale of Wolfe's daring victory and heroic death on the Plains of Abraham is still the favorite theme of historian and novelist. A success less brilliant, but not less important; a success scarcely less tragic in its ending, and almost as hardly earned, was the steady march of Forbes through the unbroken forests of Pennsylvania and over the Alleghanies to force the evacuation of Fort Duquesne.

In the July of 1758, General John Forbes gathered his little army at Raystown, now Bedford, on the eastern slope of the Alleghanies. There was Colonel Henry Bouquet, newly arrived from European battle-fields, to lead the Royal American regiment of Pennsylvania

¹ Green's *Short History of the English People*, ¶ 1451.

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

cials and lukewarmness among the Indians brought the expedition to a sudden end. Governor Shirley, whom the death of Braddock had made commander-in-chief, marched a small army to Oswego; but dared not attempt to capture Niagara lest the French from Fort Frontenac should take Oswego, and could not go against Fort Frontenac because he had no boats fitted to cross Lake Ontario. Consequently in October he returned to Albany. Thus ended for the British the disastrous year of 1755.¹

Desperate as was the situation for English power in America, in Europe matters were still worse. France had met England on the Weser, and the Duke of Cumberland lived to bear the disgrace from which his protégé Braddock was sheltered by an unknown grave. By the Convention of Closter Seven a brave army of fifteen thousand Englishmen were sent home disbanded and a rabble. Port Mahon, the key to the Mediterranean, hung at the girdle of the Duke of Richelieu. England's ally, Frederick, was hemmed within the narrow borders of Saxony by the wolves gathered from the Seine to the Volga, all snarling to tear Prussia to pieces. Even on the sea the red cross of St. George drooped from the mast-head of Admiral Byng's fleeing flagship; while in remote India the British merchant saw his expulsion decreed by a French adventurer. In parliament corruption walked hand in hand with incompetency.

In that day of wrath and ashes of empire, William Pitt was whirled into power. Making political corruption his slave, with Newcastle for overseer, Pitt infused his own vigor into both parliament and army. Into the military chest of Frederick he poured that stream of

¹ Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston, 1898), vol. i., p. 339.

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

Thankless as the task then was, those trying and perplexing months were his schooling for like vexations on a larger scale during the eight long years of the Revolution. The insubordination on the part of the troops, and the bickerings in the assemblies, which he learned to bear with patience in 1756 and 1757, were the same problems he was called upon to face twenty years later when he came to lead the armies of the united colonies.¹

The expeditions of Johnson and Shirley were scarcely more fortunate than was that of Braddock. On September 8, two months after the massacre at Great Meadows, the New York and New England militia, under Colonel Ephraim Williams,² were trapped at Lake George, and the Braddock tragedy was repeated; but the rout of the morning was turned into victory later in the day, by reason largely of Johnson's disposition of the reserves and the coolness of Lyman's Connecticut regiment. There again the superiority of the backwoods manner of fighting was made apparent; for no sooner did Dieskau's white-coated French regulars attempt an orderly attack on the provincials than those nimble fighters mowed down the regular formations in the same manner that Braddock's British force was annihilated; and their brave German commander died as gallant a death as did Braddock. For his part in the fray Johnson was made a baronet, and received five thousand pounds; but dissensions among the provin-

¹ Washington's letters, given in the second volume of Sparks, show how perplexing was his work during these years.

² Colonel Williams, a few days before his death at Bloody Pond, had made a will under which Williams College was founded; and thus the memory of a brave and modest soldier has been perpetuated in an institution ever noted for a modesty in aim and a thoroughness in execution unsurpassed among the colleges of the country.

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

breaking loose of pandemonium. The Virginians died while fighting; but the regulars ran like sheep pursued by dogs, nor could their gallant officers rally them. Happily for his fame, Braddock himself found a brave death amid disgraceful defeat; and history is kind to his memory, even while reprobating his fatal mistake of over-confidence. Braddock's disgrace was the beginning of Washington's fame. "I luckily," writes the young soldier to his mother, "escaped without a wound, though I had four bullets through my coat and two horses shot under me." Not only was his personal bravery conspicuous, but the Virginian method of fighting from behind trees proved beyond a doubt that when properly led the provincial was more than a match for the trained European soldier. A commander and the hope of success in any conflict that might come between the Old World and the New were born that July day in the slaughter-pen between the ravines of the Great Meadows.

The defeat of Braddock brought down upon the defenceless settlers the stealthy raids of the relentless savages. With fire and scalping-knife the frontier was rolled back towards the Atlantic, and throughout the Indian towns on the Ohio were distributed the captive wives and children of the murdered backwoodsmen. Meantime, in Pennsylvania the Assembly wrangled with the governor over questions of taxation; New York prudently regarded the matter as one too remote for her concern; and Virginia alone seemed willing to put forth what strength she had to protect her borders and retrieve the disgrace of the late defeat. For two years Washington was charged with the wearying and disheartening work of protecting the frontiers with a poorly equipped, poorly organized, and ill-supported militia.

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

ambuscades; but was silenced, if not convinced, by the lofty reply that the king's regular and disciplined troops were invincible, even in tangled forest and foe-lined defile. With stately balls and convivial suppers the time of preparation was whiled away. Delay after delay ensued. The Virginians were both poor and hard to move, and the resources of the country were meagre beyond the belief of a European commander. Throughout the languid spring the little army watched each westering sun sink behind those low hills and broad stretches of river and plain, where in less than half a century was to be built as the capital of a new nation a city to be named after the energetic youth who was then and there taking those lessons in the art of war that were soon to enable him to cope with the highly trained armies of the old world.

Amid the fierce heats of June and early July, Braddock's army dragged its slow length towards the forks of the Ohio. The Delaware Indians, spying upon the flanks of the English forces, saw that the advance was made in close order, and quickly decided to surround the army, take trees, and shoot down the soldiers like pigeons.¹ On July 9, 1755, James Smith, a captive at Fort Duquesne, while watching the preparations for the encounter, saw the Indians swarm about the ammunition barrels before the gates, in their haste to provide themselves with powder, bullets, and flints. Their wants

¹ *Colonel James Smith's Account of Remarkable Occurrences, 1755-9* (Philadelphia, 1834), p. 18. Parkman speaks of the exceeding value of this work. Smith, a Pennsylvanian, was captured just before the Braddock defeat; he was made to run the gantlet, and afterwards was adopted in the place of a warrior. For several years he lived the life of an Indian; and his experiences of life among the savages are in the highest degree interesting and valuable.



GENERAL EDWARD BRADDOCK

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

supplied, they marched off "in rank entire," accompanied by the French Canadians and some regulars, in all about four hundred¹—a force so small that Smith was in high hopes that he would see them fleeing back before the British troops, and so put an end to his captivity. The Canadians and Lake Indians, who had been summoned by Vaudreuil, were under the command of Cadet Charles de Langlade, whose influence over the fierce savages of the north the governor counted upon to insure a repetition of his former brilliant exploits. It was nine o'clock when the motley crowd of French, Canadians,² and Indians, under the command of De Beaujeu, set out from the fort; it was half-past twelve when they came upon the English as the latter were enjoying their mid-day meal, on the south bank of the Monongahela. Unnoticed by the English, each savage and Canadian selected a tree, and prepared for the fray. Seeing the advantage of immediate attack, before the English should take up their arms, Langlade urged De Beaujeu to begin the fight. The Frenchman, made timid by the number of his opponents, refused. Then Langlade called to council the chiefs of the savages, and had them insist upon an order to begin. Again De Beaujeu refused. Thereupon Langlade made a second appeal, and this time won a reluctant consent. Then from the silent forest there broke upon the astonished English a noise of yelling savages and of whirring bullets like the

¹ Tasse puts the number at two hundred and fifty French and six hundred Indians. "Memoir of Charles de Langlade," *Wisconsin Historical Society Reports*, 1876, p. 130.

² Among the Canadians were Langlade's brother-in-law, Souligney, his nephew, Gautier de Vierville; Pierre Quérét, La Fortune, Amable de Gere, Philip de Rocheblave, and Louis Hamelin. Beaujeu was killed in the encounter.

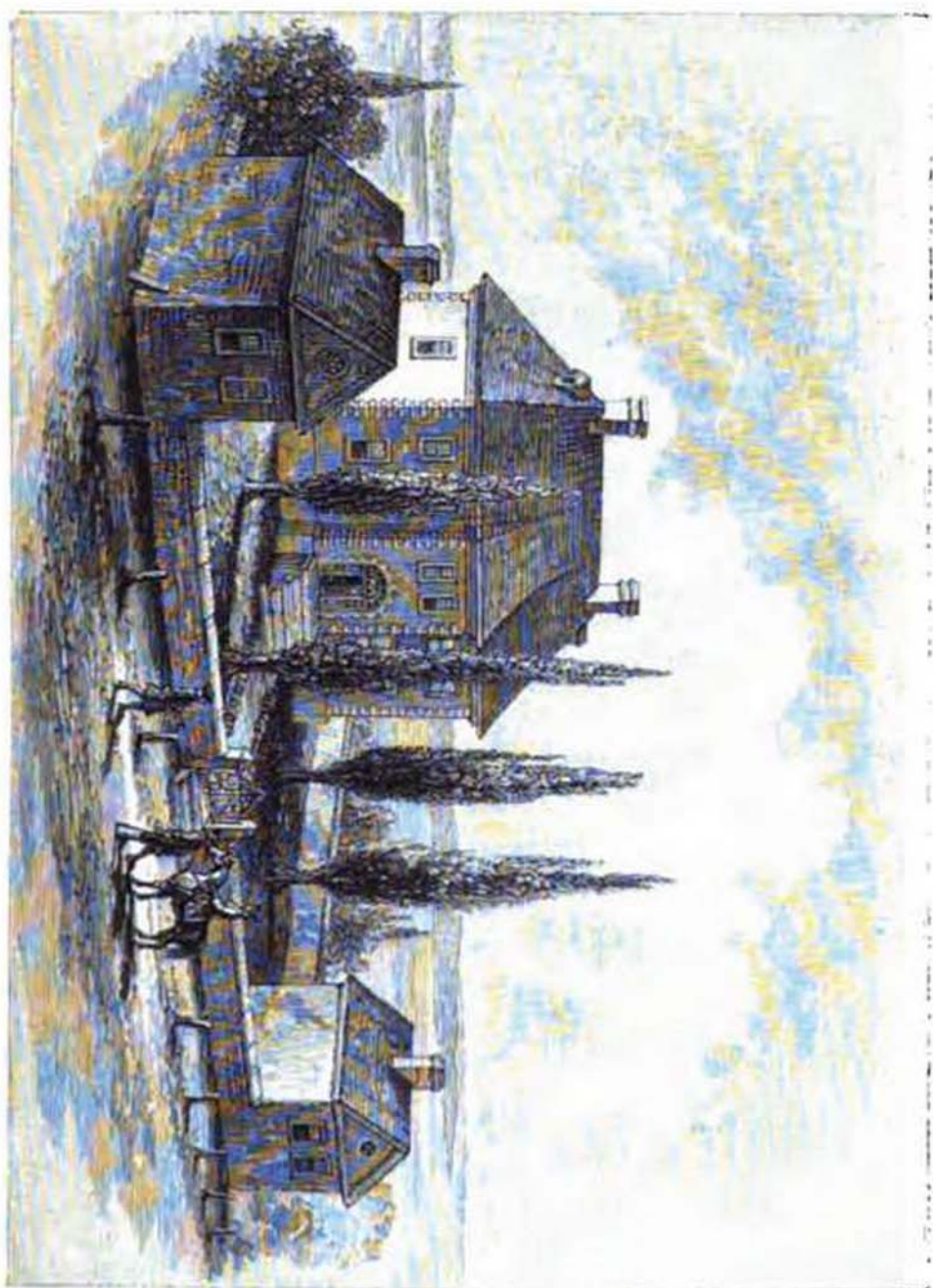
THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

and thus he secured the devoted services of the bravest and shrewdest fighter in all America, and this, too, without taking a jot or tittle out of the king's order of precedence.

From his stone castle on the Mohawk came Colonel William Johnson, to be placed in charge of Indian affairs, as a stepping-stone to the baronetcy as dear to his vanity as was a silver medal to a savage. To Johnson was assigned the task of leading a force against Crown Point. From slow-going, peace-loving Philadelphia rode Benjamin Franklin, the shrewd postmaster-general of the colonies, then in his forty-ninth year. At his side trotted two royal governors: Delancy, of New York, and the urbane Shirley, of Massachusetts, who was to lead the attack on Niagara and Fort Frontenac. To Franklin it was given to wring from the close-fisted farmers of Pennsylvania the means of transportation and the supplies necessary for the quartermaster's and commissary's departments; and with a zeal quite contrary to military knowledge he loaded the officers with comforts and luxuries that did much to demoralize the expedition.

To the admiring group gathered about the blazing fire in the Alexandria mansion that still bears his name, Braddock told how he would capture Fort Duquesne and then march on Fort Niagara, driving the French back within their proper territory on the St. Lawrence. The astute Franklin flattered while yet he suggested

some letter of Washington's in which the young soldier confesses that he loves to hear the bullets whistle. Washington would not deny that he wrote some such thing; but excused himself by saying that, if he did, it was when he was young. It is difficult to realize that Washington ever was young in the sense of saying or doing an unpremeditated thing. The incident therefore is valuable in that it tends to humanize his character.



BRADDOCK'S HEADQUARTERS

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

andria, disposing the other fifteen companies at the pretentious town of Fredericksburg, at Bladensburg, then a considerable tobacco port, and at five or six other straggling villages in the neighborhood. Meantime the general quartered himself upon Governor Dinwiddie at the brick palace in Williamsburg, whence he sent out his summons for the leading men of America to meet him in council at Alexandria, whither he shortly repaired. Arrogant yet convivial, haughty but condescending, Braddock soon brought into subjection the discordant forces with which he was called upon to deal. He had brought with him from England two regiments of infantry, each five hundred strong, and these he proposed to supplement with an equal number of provincials. Never before had America seen so brave an array. Braddock, himself the son of a major-general, had been trained to arms in the Coldstream Guards, a regiment unsurpassed for valor, the very flower of the British army. In this model regiment he had won promotion by gallantry on the field of battle; and his selection as commander of the American expedition was made by no less a personage than the Duke of Cumberland, who took an intense interest in all that related to the campaign, and who had repeatedly admired Braddock's coolness and intrepidity when under fire.¹

Washington, in no mood to be humiliated by accepting a command in which he as a provincial would be subordinate to the lowest subaltern holding a king's commission, viewed from a distance the preparations for an expedition in which he burned to share. The astute Braddock avoided the difficulty by making the lover of the whistling-bullet² a member of his military family;

¹ Lowdermilk's *Cumberland*, p. 97.

² Horace Walpole, in his *Memoirs*, makes merry over a quotation in

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

plant colonies in "the great country back of the Appalachian Mountains, on both sides of the Ohio, and between that river and the lakes," a region "now well known, both to the English and French, to be one of the finest in North America, for the extreme richness and fertility of the land; healthy temperature of the air, the mildness of the climate; the plenty of hunting and fishing and fowling; the facility of trade with the Indians; and the vast convenience of inland navigation or water carriage by the lakes and great rivers, many hundreds of leagues around." His plan included a strong fort at Niagara, with armed vessels on the lakes, and smaller forts on Lake Erie. A second colony was to have its seat on the Scioto, "the finest spot of its bigness in all North America," with the advantage of "sea-coal in plenty (even above ground in two places) for fuel, when the woods shall be destroyed."

Events now hurried England into making a national rather than a colonial issue of the advance of the French into the territories claimed by the British. In May, 1754, Washington in command of the advance force raised by Virginia, and aided by the half-king, fell upon a French detachment, and in a quarter-hour action killed the commander, M. de Jumonville, and nine others, taking twenty-one prisoners. On July 3d, however, Washington was attacked at his half-built Fort Necessity, and was compelled to withdraw, after a spirited contest of nine hours. Evidently the time had come for England to assert her claims to the Northwest.

On the 20th of February, 1755, amid the alternate heats and chills of a Virginia winter, General Edward Braddock appeared on the Potomac as the commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in America; and in due time quartered five companies of his little army at Alex-

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

men who were destined to have a large share in the history of the western country. The first of these was Colonel William Johnson (afterwards known as Sir William Johnson), whose influence over the Six Nations, acquired by years of honest dealing, familiarity with Indian life and manners, and absolute steadfastness of purpose, exceeded that of any other person who ever had trade relations with that most powerful of all Indian confederacies. It is a significant fact that the convention intrusted to Benjamin Franklin the task of expressing its thanks to Colonel Johnson for his comprehensive plan for dealing with the Six Nations, and for defeating the plans of the French in their encroachments; and it is more than probable that then and afterwards Franklin obtained from Colonel Johnson many of the facts and ideas that he afterwards used to such good purpose in presenting the advantages to be derived from holding the Ohio region.

Franklin's own contribution to the occasion, however, was nothing less than a well-worked-out plan for a definite union of the colonies under a governor to be appointed by the crown—a plan that was adopted by the convention only to be rejected by both the colonies and the crown; by the colonies because it smacked too much of prerogative, and by the ministry because there was in it too much of democracy! There is good reason to believe that had a different fate attended this scheme the war of the Revolution would have been averted, at least for a time.¹

Returning to Philadelphia, Franklin soon after prepared for Governor Pownall that almost prophetic paper in which he argues that England should take steps to

¹ Sparks's *Franklin*, vol. iii. Sparks gives the Franklin plan of union, together with his paper on the Ohio country.

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

encroachments of the French, and to renew the covenant with the Six Nations.

Governor Dinwiddie, also, set about putting Virginia on a war footing. The military establishment was increased to six companies under the command of Colonel Joshua Fry, with Washington as lieutenant-colonel; and to stimulate enlistments the governor made a grant of two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio, to be divided among the officers and soldiers engaged in the expedition. While Washington was recruiting his force at Alexandria, Captain Trent had raised a company of traders and woodsmen, and had marched to the forks of the Ohio, where they began to build a fort on the site of the present city of Pittsburg. Washington reached Wills Creek on April 20, 1754, and five days later Captain Trent's ensign, Mr. Ward, arrived from the Ohio with the disagreeable news that on the 17th M. Contrecoeur, with a thousand men, had appeared before the half-finished fort and demanded its surrender. Captain Trent was at home, and Ensign Ward, taking counsel with Washington's Indian friend the half-king, made terms with Contrecoeur and withdrew. With this seizure of the Ohio Company's post by a French armed force began the French and Indian War, which raged for nine years and reached more than half-way round the globe.

The news of this reverse Washington immediately communicated to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, and to the Governor of Maryland, as well as to Governor Dinwiddie. The latter already had sought the aid of New York and South Carolina. In New York and Pennsylvania the assemblies were inclined to the opinion that perhaps France had the best claims to the Ohio. In the latter colony the proprietors absolutely refused

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

to allow their own lands to be taxed for purposes of defence; and in the other colonies either the danger seemed remote, or questions of prerogative between the elective assemblies and the royal governors prevented action.

All unwittingly England now gave the colonies a useful lesson in self-government. In their natural desire to throw on the colonial treasuries the burden of defending the frontiers against the encroachments of the French, the Lords of Trade summoned the various governments to send delegates to an assembly to be convened at Albany in the June of 1754 for the purpose of enlisting the assistance of the Indians and concerting measures for common defence. Albany was selected for the meeting-place because of its proximity to the lands of the Six Nations, always friendly to the English. Indeed, at this time England was disposed to base her title to the Ohio regions not on the voyage of John Howard, who, in 1742, had floated down the Ohio in a buffalo-skin canoe, only to be captured by the French on the Mississippi; nor on the treaty made by the Pennsylvania interpreter, Conrad Weiser, at Logstown, in 1748; nor yet on the prior Lancaster treaty of 1744, recognizing the right of the king to all lands within the colony of Virginia. A much wider, although at the same time a much more indefinite, basis was found in the treaty of Albany, in 1684, when the Six Nations placed all their lands under the protection of England. This treaty was taken to cover the lands conquered by the Six Nations between the Alleghanies and the Great Lakes; and on it New York afterwards, as we shall see, claimed the Ohio country in opposition to the claims of Virginia and Connecticut.

Although the Albany convention failed to accomplish the objects for which it was called, it introduced two

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

many a danger from Indians favorable to the English; and it was due to his intrigues that the Iroquois were shaken in their allegiance to the British. He now endeavored to win over Washington's red companions, but in this he was unsuccessful; and after many delays the embassy reached Le Boeuf, where Washington presented his letters to the commander, Legardeur de St. Pierre, "an elderly gentleman with much the air of a soldier."

To the qualities of a soldier St. Pierre added the accomplishments of a diplomat. First a translation of Washington's letters was made and duly corrected; then three days were spent in preparing an answer to the effect that the communication of his honor, the Governor of Virginia, had been received and respectfully referred to the Marquis Duquesne, at Quebec, pending whose reply he, St. Pierre, would continue to execute his orders by expelling all Englishmen whom he found within the domains of his most Christian Majesty. While this reply was in preparation the French were using every means to detach the Indian chiefs from the English interest; but here the youthful envoy was more than a match for his elderly rivals. On the 16th of December, Washington turned his face homeward; and after many perils, including a narrow escape from the bullet of a treacherous Indian, he and Gist returned to Virginia.

Washington's journal of his expedition to the Ohio, being sent to the Lords of Trade, and by them published in England, aroused the nation to a sense of the peril in which English territory was placed by the advance of the French. The immediate result was an order from the Lords of Trade addressed to the governors of the colonies, commanding them to meet and consult as to steps for united action against the en-

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

the intolerable conditions of the Old World, could not be stopped in their rush to make homes for themselves in the fertile wildernesses of America. Moreover, there was much truth in the reply of the French commander to the half-king. No one of the tribes then in possession of the Ohio country had long held the lands they then occupied; the tribes were at war with one another; and famine and disease added their work to the destruction that ever stalked through the forests and over the prairies of the Northwest. To maintain the richest lands on earth as a game preserve for a few savages when hundreds of thousands of civilized beings were seeking homes and liberty might be theoretical justice, but certainly it was not consistent with the strongest impulses of human nature.

On December 4th, Washington and his party, attended by the half-king, and two other chiefs commissioned to return the French belts, reached Venango, an old Indian town near the junction of French Creek with the Alleghany. There, in a house of which the Englishman John Frazier had been dispossessed, dwelt Captain Joncaire, who received the embassy with effusive courtesy. When wine had loosed the tongues of the French, they swore they meant to take possession of the Ohio, which they claimed by virtue of "a discovery made by one La Salle, sixty years ago." They knew the English could raise double the number of men the French could; but they counted (and with good reason) on the dilatoriness of their enemies to prevent the success of any English undertaking. In Joncaire Washington was called on to deal with an adept. The son of a French officer and a Seneca squaw, he had all the advantages that come from being able to address the savages in their own tongue. He had acted as scout for Céleron's expedition, braving

they withdraw from the Indians' country. "Fathers," he had said to the French, "both you and the English are white; we live in the country between; therefore the land belongs neither to one nor the other. But the Great Being above allowed it to be a place of residence for us; so, fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers the English; for I will keep you at arm's-length. I lay this down as a trial for both, to see which will have the greatest regard for it, and that side we will stand by, and make equal sharers with us. Our brothers, the English, have heard this, and I now come to tell it to you; for I am not afraid to discharge you off this land."

To this vigorous speech the Frenchman had made contemptuous answer that he was not afraid of flies or mosquitoes, for such the Indians were; that he should go down the Ohio, build upon it, and tread under his feet all opposition. The land, he said, did not belong to the Indians; for the French had taken possession of the Ohio while yet the present tribes were dwelling elsewhere.

As between the French and the English, the Indians might well side with the former; because the French never contemplated the possession and cultivation of the lands, but merely the establishment of trading-stations. The French proposed to trade with the Indians: the English colonists to dispossess them. Eventually the English policy came to be but a continuation of the French, while the policy of the colonists was ever to acquire by purchase or by force, and to bring under cultivation the lands that formed the hunting-grounds of the Indians. It may be admitted that the French policy was the more just to the Indian; but the Scotch-Irish, the Germans, the Swiss, and other peoples of Europe, escaping from

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

and force of the French, and to deliver to their commanding officer the demand of Virginia, that all French troops be withdrawn from the country included within the chartered limits of that colony. The messenger selected for this delicate and arduous task was Major George Washington, then a sedate youth of twenty-one, who had held the position of adjutant-general in the Virginia militia since he was nineteen. The selection was eminently fitting. Major Washington, as the executor of the estate of his brother Lawrence, was now largely interested in the success of the Ohio Company, and he was not likely to repeat the failure of Dinwiddie's first commissioner, Captain William Trent, who went no nearer the French than Logstown.

Armed with proper credentials, Washington started from Mount Vernon, in company with Jacob Vanbraam, a broken-down officer, who had taught the young major the art of fence and had instructed him generally in the duties of a soldier, and who was now to serve as his interpreter. Reaching the Monongahela, Washington secured the services of Christopher Gist, whose success in dealing with the Indians two years before had established his reputation with the company; and the party was completed by four hired servitors, Barnaby Currin and John McQuire, a pair of Scotch-Irish traders, and Henry Stewart and William Jenkins. On reaching Frazier's they learned that the French commander, Marin, had died and that his troops had gone into winter-quarters. Twenty-five days out from Williamsburg the party, reinforced by Shingiss, King of the Delawares, reached Logstown, where they awaited the coming of the Half-king of the Six Nations, from whom they learned the whereabouts of the French. This chief had already been to the invaders with a demand that



GEORGE WASHINGTON

(From a portrait painted in 1772 by C. W. Peale, now owned by General George Washington Custis Lee, of Lexington, Virginia.)

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

ready to start on that long and brilliant career of petty warfare that makes his name and fame a part of the history of the Northwest. Early in the June of 1752, Céloron from the block-house bastion of Fort Pontchartrain beheld far up the placid river a fleet of swift darting canoes, hurrying through the shallow passage between the wooded island and the mainland. As the flotilla approached the little town the prows of the canoes were forced up on the sands at the foot of the palisades, and a crowd of a hundred and fifty warriors from Michilimackinac tumbled from the boats and went howling through the narrow streets of the little town. At their head was Charles Langlade, more savage than any Indian in the crowd. What Céloron and his Frenchmen dared not undertake, that Langlade and his followers speedily accomplished. Crossing the corner of Lake Erie, the fleet ascended the Miami of the Lake, and on the 21st of June suddenly attacked the meagre fort at Piqua. Eight English traders and a few Indians were in the town. The surprise was complete. After a short fight fourteen Miamis and one trader were killed. The chief, known as Old Britain, was boiled and eaten; the trading-house was plundered, and five traders were captured and carried to Governor Duquesne, who recommended for Langlade a pension suited to the husband of a squaw!'

¹ Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston, 1898), vol. i., p. 89. See also *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, vol. iv., p. 599.

The statement that on this occasion the Ottawas were led by Charles de Langlade is made on the authority of Parkman (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. i., p. 89). Tasse in his elaborate sketch of Langlade makes no reference to the episode. The Pennsylvania records also are silent as to the leader of the Indians; and Parkman himself repeatedly speaks of Langlade as married to a squaw at

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

Meanwhile Duquesne was preparing to cut off the English from the Ohio country. Early in the spring of 1753 a mixed force of king's troops, Canadians, and Indians, numbering not far from fifteen hundred persons, set out from Montreal, and in due time reached that most excellent harbor on Lake Erie then called Presqu' Isle, now known as Erie. There they built a post. Then, advancing, they built another on Le Boeuf creek, and still a third at Venango on the Alleghany. Sickness in the ranks and incompetency among the leaders made them pause; but there the gauntlet was thrown down.

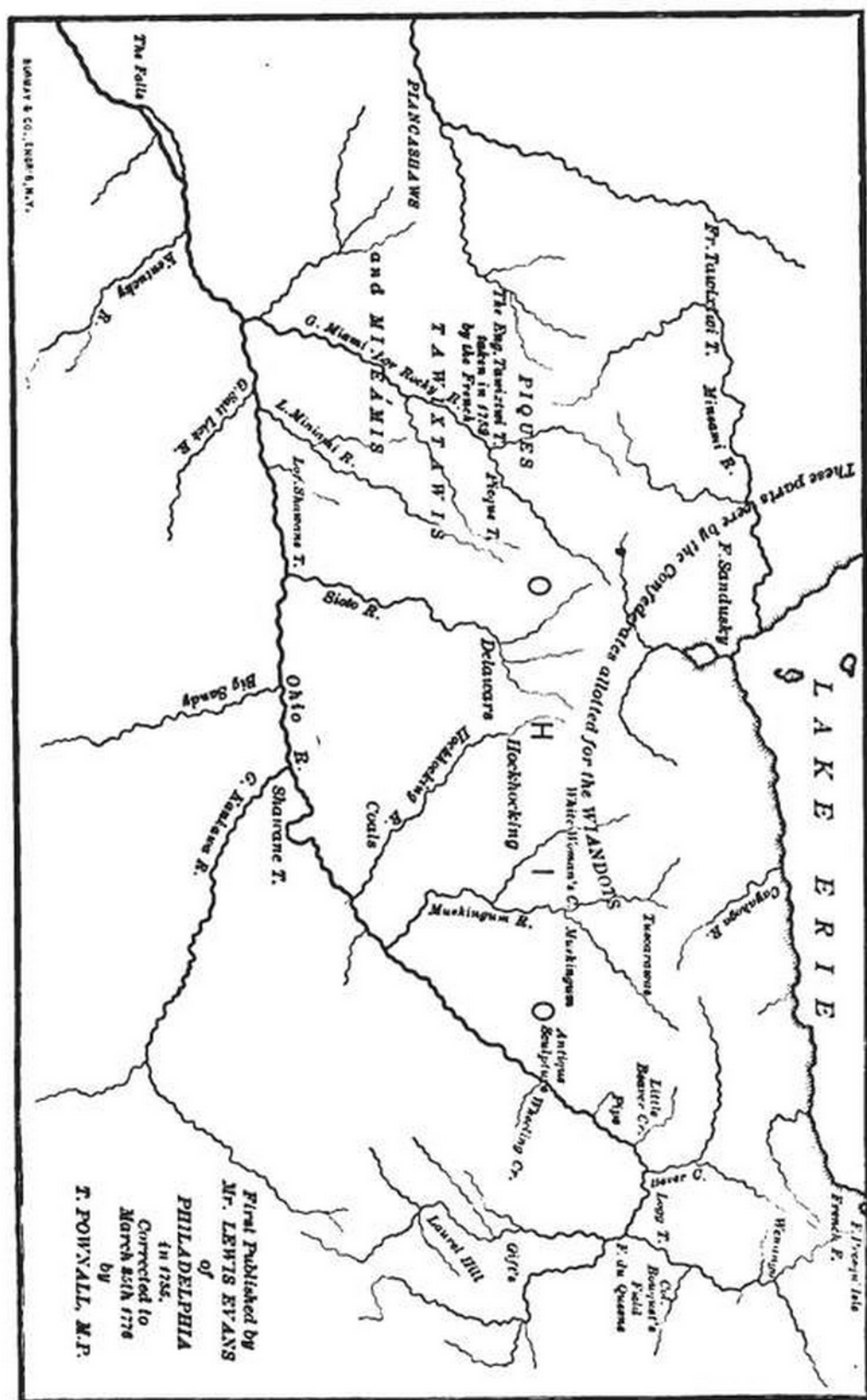
Reports of the French advance having reached Governor Dinwiddie, he conceived it to be his duty to defend the Virginia frontiers against the invaders; and he represented to New York, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina the peril of the situation. The northern colonies held back. Governor Dinwiddie, who had become a member of the Ohio Company, was not slow to see that the plans of the corporation would come to nothing if once the French were allowed to reach the Ohio. He therefore resolved to send a messenger to ascertain the numbers

Green Bay. This is inaccurate. Langlade's eldest child was the son of an Indian woman; but she was never his wife. Langlade's father married an Indian woman, the daughter of an Ottawa chief; but she was hardly to be called a squaw, for at the time of her marriage to Augustin de Langlade she was the widow of a French fur-trader, and the mother of his seven children, all of whom proved to be very respectable people. Charles de Langlade married on August 12, 1754, Charlotte Bourassa, the daughter of a French trader of wealth and position, and it was some time after their marriage that they went to live at Green Bay. Moreover, she was known to be mortally afraid of Indians, and on one occasion nearly suffocated herself by hiding under a lumber-pile, on the approach of a band of Menominees. See Tasse's sketch of Charles de Langlade in *Wisconsin Historical Reports*, 1867.

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

Mr. Hanbury, in the hope that the latter might obtain from the king some sort of a charter to prevent the residents on the Ohio and its branches being subject to parish taxes. "I am well assured," he continues, "that we shall never obtain it by law here. This colony was greatly settled the latter part of Charles the First's time, and during the usurpation, by zealous churchmen; and that spirit, which was then brought in, has ever since continued, so that except a few Quakers we have no dissenters. But what has been the consequence? We have increased by slow degrees, except negroes and convicts, while our neighboring colonies, whose natural advantages are greatly inferior to ours, have become populous." To Governor Dinwiddie, then in London, Lawrence Washington also wrote that the Dutch would take fifty thousand acres of the company's lands, provided they could be assured of religious freedom; but the governor, although he was heartily interested in the project, despaired of obtaining from an over-busy parliament and ministry the attention necessary to procure the requisite exemption. Thus, at the very beginning, arose that question of religious freedom which was to find such ample recognition when the great charter of the Northwest came to be written.

In June, 1752, the Indians met Gist and the Virginian commissioners at Logstown, and in spite of French intrigues, made a treaty whereby the Ohio Company was to be allowed to make settlements south of the Ohio, and to build a fort at the forks of that river. Indeed, the Indians had urged upon Croghan that the Pennsylvanians build such a fort; but the Pennsylvania assembly had neglected their opportunities, and had utterly failed to support Croghan in his dealings with the Indians. Gist surveyed the company's lands; he re-



THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

moved his own habitation from the Yadkin, and began the erection of a fortified trading-post at Shurtees Creek, on the east bank of the Ohio, a little below the present site of Pittsburg. Thus far everything promised well for the Ohio project. The Indians were well disposed to the English; colonial traders overran the entire country from the very gates of Montreal to the Mississippi; and but for the posts on the Great Lakes and their connecting waters, together with Vincennes on the Wabash and Fort Chartres in the Illinois country, the English were at liberty to push their settlements and their trade throughout the regions inhabited by the most powerful tribes, and comprising the richest lands on the continent. Unfortunately for British interests, however, mutual jealousies among the colonies, together with that deliberation in action which is characteristic of popular governments, prevented prompt and harmonious action until France had found a means of compelling the fickle savages to renounce their new friends and to aid their ancient allies.

Meanwhile the French were not altogether idle. Céloron de Bienville, now the commandant at Detroit, was engaged in planting on the fertile banks of the strait the French families that liberal subsidies in farm implements had drawn thither; and at this time the town could boast a population of nearly five hundred whites—the largest French settlement west of Montreal. He was ordered from Quebec to drive the English traders from the Miami villages, and thus to realize his occupation of the Ohio country in 1749. The task, however, required a man of a different stamp. Charles Langlade, a young French trader at Michilimackinac, who had already acquired an ascendancy over the Ottawa and Ojibwa tribes of the northern portages, was now

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

made prisoners of some of the English, whom the Miamis regarded as their brothers. Therefore had they cleared the way for the English. So the Ottawas were forced to return unsuccessful.

Gratified by his success, Gist parted from his companions, and returned to the Shawanese town near the mouth of the Scioto, where the Miami alliance was celebrated with feasting and firing. Then he floated down the Ohio nearly to the present site of Louisville. It was now the 18th of March; Gist had been journeying for four months and a half; he had accomplished everything he had set out to do; and with a light heart he turned his face to the south, intending to make his way homeward up the valley of the Cuttawa, or Kentucky, River. Glorious beyond description were the sights that greeted his ravished eyes as from hill-top after hill-top the wild and beautiful scenery of Kentucky in its robes of freshest green lay spread out before him. It was May when he poled his hastily built raft across the Great Kanawha; and it was almost June when, weary and footsore, he reached the banks of the Yadkin, to find as his only welcome a deserted cabin and the unmistakable signs of an Indian massacre. Happily, however, his own family had been spared, and had taken refuge at a Roanoke settlement.

The death of Mr. Lee, soon after the Ohio Company was launched, threw the active management into the hands of Lawrence Washington, who entered into the project zealously. On making overtures to the Pennsylvania Dutch, who had come into the Shenandoah Valley, he found that their one objection to taking up lands on the Ohio was that they would be compelled to support a clergyman of the Established Church, when few understood and none made use of him. He therefore wrote to

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

the Six Nations, who were their natural rivals; for the Miamis in the west were quite as powerful a confederacy as were the Six Nations in the east.

Assembled in the long-house of the nation, on Sunday, the 17th of February, 1751, the council was opened by the interpreter Montour, with the usual formalities of presenting wampum belts. Then he gave greeting to the chiefs: "You have made a road for our brothers the English to come and trade among you; but it is now very foul, great logs are fallen across it, and we would have you be strong like men, and have one heart with us to make the road clear, that our brothers, the English, may have free course and recourse between you and us. In the sincerity of our hearts we send you these four strings of wampum." To this the Indians gave their usual grunt of yo-ho, meaning, "We will see." At noon on Wednesday, the chiefs, arrayed in the shirts, blankets, and paint that the Ohio Company's agent had provided, entered the long-house, to smoke the calumet with their visitors; and the next day Croghan on behalf of the Pennsylvania authorities gave presents to the value of £100. The Miamis professed friendship; and their profession was speedily put to the test.

While Croghan and Gist were still at Piqua, four Ottawas from the Detroit appeared in the council-house. They brought with them a French flag, which they raised by the side of the British ensign; and to the usual strings of wampum they added ten pounds of tobacco and two kegs of the milk of the wilderness, also called French brandy. "The French king," said the Ottawa envoys, "had made clean the road to his officers, and he had sent an invitation to the Miamis to visit his posts." To this Gist's friend, the Piankeshas chief, replied that foul and bloody was the way to the French, who had

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

in the great council when spring was come; and with that the envoys, being satisfied, departed. Coming to White Woman's Creek, they found dwelling there with her Indian husband and her half-breed children, Mary Harris, then fifty years old. When but ten years of age she had been captured in New England by allies of the French; and she still remembered that the people used to be very religious in her native country, and wondered that white men could be so wicked as she had found them in the Ohio woods.

On the Scioto Creek they came to a Delaware village, where they were well received; and at the mouth of that stream they found the Shawanese, who also were friendly, for in times gone by the English had saved the Shawanese when attacked by the Six Nations. Both of these tribes promised that they would meet the Virginians at Logstown in the spring. Then Gist, with Croghan, Montour, and Robert Kallendar, turned his face northward, and after a journey of 150 miles came to the Tawightwi town (Piqua), on the Miami, in the present Ohio county of that name. With the English colors at their head, the little band marched into the capital of the powerful western confederacy, the strongest Indian town in that part of the continent. Amid the firing of guns the ambassadors of the colonies were received by the English traders, and by the chief, who raised the English flag above his own lodge. The Tawightwis, or Miamis, were a numerous people, made up of many tribes, each tribe having a chief; and one of these chiefs was selected to rule the entire nation. Formerly they lived on the Wabash, but latterly they had removed to the Miami, in order to deal with the English traders, who offered them much better bargains than did the French. At this time they were on friendly terms with

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

Blair, Francis P. Blair, and B. Gratz Brown.¹ Gist's instructions directed him "to go out as soon as possible to the westward of the great mountains in order to search out and discover the lands upon the river Ohio (and other adjoining branches of the Mississippi) down as low as the great falls thereof." He was to observe the ways and passes through the mountains; the width and depth of the rivers; what nations of Indians inhabit the lands, whom they trade with, and in what they deal. In particular he was to mark all the good level lands, so that they might easily be found; for it was the purpose of the company to go all the way down to the Mississippi if need were, in order not to take mean, broken land.²

On the last day of October, Gist set out from Colonel Cresap's, on the Potomac, in Maryland, and followed an old Indian path up the Juniata. Sleeping in Indian cabins, living on bear and wild turkey, braving rain and snow, throwing off fever by a resort to the Indian custom of going into a sweat-house, Gist was twenty-five days in reaching the Seneca village of Logstown, eighteen miles down the Ohio from the present site of Pittsburgh. There he found a parcel of reprobate Indian traders from Pennsylvania, at whose hands he would have fared badly indeed, had he not represented himself as the king's messenger. He inquired for George Croghan, the idol of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish; and found that the veteran trader, with Andrew Montour, the interpreter, was a week's journey in advance. At Beaver Creek, Gist fell in with Barney Curran, an Ohio Company's trader, and together they struck across country to the Muskingum, where was an Indian town of a hun-

¹ Lowdermilk's *Cumberland* (Washington, 1878), p. 28.

² "Journal of Christopher Gist's Journey," printed in Pownall's *Topographical Description of North America* (London, 1776).

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

dred families. As Gist's party came in sight of the place, their eyes were rejoiced by the sight of two English flags snapping in the brisk December wind; and on inquiring the cause, he found that George Croghan had raised one flag over the chief's lodge and another over his own, and had sent out runners to call the Indians to council over the capture of some English traders by the French. It transpired that two of Croghan's men had been taken by a band of forty Frenchmen and twenty Indians, and had been hurried to the French post at Presqu' Isle, on Lake Erie. Croghan received Gist with satisfaction.

On Christmas day, Gist proposed to read the prayers appointed by the Church of England. Croghan's followers, however, had no desire to worship after the manner of the king's religion, and had it not been for the good offices of the local blacksmith, Thomas Burney, and the interpreter, Andrew Montour, this pious purpose must have failed. These two white men collected a congregation of Indians; and probably that Christmas of 1750 was the occasion when first the doctrines of salvation, faith, and good works were expounded by a Protestant within the boundaries of the Northwest. The result was embarrassing. The Indians immediately implored Gist to settle among them, baptize their children, and perform their marriage ceremonies. They loved the English, they said, but heretofore had seen little religion among them!

It was not until the middle of January that the Indians assembled in council. Then Croghan acquainted the savages that the great king over the water had sent them a large present of goods in care of the Governor of Virginia, and had invited them to partake of his charity. The Indians replied that they would consider the matter

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

newed their possession of the river Ohio, and of all those rivers that flow into it, as far as their sources, "the same as was enjoyed, or ought to have been enjoyed by the preceding kings of France, and that they have maintained by their arms and treaties, especially by those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle."¹

From the Ohio the party of occupation made its way up the Miami to Lake Erie, and thence to Quebec. In several of the Indian villages, Céloron had found English traders. These he sent back to the colonies with warnings not to trespass upon French territory; while the Indians who harbored them were warned of the wrath of their father, the French king, in case they continued to receive the English traders—warnings which the savages were not inclined to heed. The fact was that the English traders offered better bargains than did the French, and the Indians were quick to perceive that their interest lay in competition between the white races.

Nothing daunted by the theatrical expedition of Céloron, the Ohio Company, in September, 1750, called from his home on the Yadkin that shrewd and hardy pioneer, Christopher Gist. No better selection could have been made. Gist's father had surveyed the western shore of Maryland, and had aided in laying out the town of Baltimore; and the son had inherited the father's liking for out-door life. The quality of the English blood in his veins is attested by the fact that one son, Richard, was killed in the battle of King's Mountain; another son, Nathaniel, was a colonel in the Virginia line during the Revolution, and was the progenitor of Montgomery

¹ See De Hass's *Western Virginia* for a drawing of the plate found at the mouth of the Kanawha.

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

In this year 1748, while the rich lands of the garden of Virginia were being laid off and populated, the enterprising men of the colony put their heads together to secure the territory beyond the Alleghanies, but still within the chartered limits of the province. The prime mover in the scheme was Thomas Lee, the president of his majesty's Virginia council, and with him were associated, among others, Lawrence and Augustine Washington, half-brothers of George. The London partner was Thomas Hanbury, a merchant of wealth and influence. Taking the name of the Ohio Company, the associates presented to the king a petition for half a million acres of land on the south side of the Ohio River, between the Monongahela and the Kanawha rivers, with the privilege of selecting a portion of the lands on the north side. Two hundred thousand acres were to be taken up at once; one hundred families were to be seated within seven years, and a fort was to be built as a protection against hostile Indians. The king readily assented to a proposition which promised an effective and inexpensive means of occupying the Ohio valley, which was claimed by the French by right of discovery and occupation. These claims France was just then in a mood to make good.

Orders having been sent to the Virginia government to make the grant to the Ohio Company, the projectors of the scheme ordered two cargoes of goods suitable for the Indian trade; they began to construct roads across the mountains, and prepared to send out an explorer both to look over the lands, and also to arrange for an Indian council at which the Virginia authorities should treat with the savages for the Indian title to the lands within the grant.

Before the company's agent could take the field,



WASHINGTON AS A SURVEYOR

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

France had decided upon her course of action. While the French government, either at home or in Canada, could do little to prevent individual English traders from wandering at will through the forest towns, the formation of the Ohio Company under royal sanction, proposing as it did to carve a half-million acres out of what the French regarded as their domain, was not a matter to be tossed to and fro like a shuttlecock between the Cabinet at Versailles and the Cabinet at St. James. The ministers of his most Christian Majesty now dropped idle discussions as to the whereabouts of "ancient boundaries" mentioned in the Treaty of Utrecht, and put aside their vain attempts to convince the London court that the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was intended to define and not to confuse the limits of empire. The French proceeded to take the only course left open to them. They occupied the Ohio Valley in force.

Preliminary to more active military operations, the Chevalier Céloron de Bienville, with a band of more than two hundred French officers and Canadian soldiers and boatmen, was sent to take formal possession of the Ohio. Up the turbulent St. Lawrence, across placid Lake Ontario, around the far-sounding falls of Niagara, along the shores of fitful Lake Erie the flotilla of twenty-three birch-bark canoes skimmed its rapid way during the verdant June and the hot July of 1749. Striking across country to Lake Chautauqua, the frail barks were again launched on that beautiful sheet of water, and thence a path was found to the headwaters of the Alleghany. Floating down this river and the Ohio, the fleet stopped now to treat with the Indians at one of their numerous villages, and again to bury at the mouth of some tributary a lead plate inscribed with the *flower-de-luce* and bearing a legend to the effect that thus the French re-

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

some German settlements near the lower end, completely possessed it. So strong in numbers were they that in this year the Synod of Philadelphia, at the instance of John Caldwell, the grandfather of John Caldwell Calhoun, sent a commissioner to propose to the governor of Virginia that the Scotch-Irish would protect the colony against the Indians provided only "that they be allowed the liberty of their consciences and of worshipping God in a way agreeable to the principles of their education." To this proposition Governor Gooch made gracious answer; and thus it happened that for a time the free Bible secured the services of the trusty rifle.¹

During the spring of 1748, George Washington, while making surveys in the Shenandoah Valley, obtained his first experience of border life and border people. Tramping amid beautiful groves of sugar-trees, paddling past lands yielding an abundance of grain, hemp, and tobacco, he ran the lines of Lord Fairfax's possessions with an accuracy that has since become proverbial. At night he rolled himself in a blanket and lay down on a little hay or a bearskin, with man, wife, and children, like dogs and cats; and happy was he who got the berth nearest the fire. At Colonel Cresap's he shared the limited accommodations of the place with a band of thirty Indians coming from war with a single scalp; and for amusement he supplied the liquors necessary to induce a war-dance, which struck the hard-headed young surveyor as highly comical.²

¹ The Scotch-Irish of the South. An address at the Scotch-Irish Congress, 1889, by Hon. William Wirt Henry. *Proceedings*, p. 117.

Gooch resigned in 1749. The latter years of his term were embittered by his attempts to suppress heterodox opinions, which attempts had the usual results. See Lodge's *English Colonies in America*, p. 29.

² Sparks's *Washington*, vol. ii., contains Washington's letters and journals covering this period of his career.

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

border to occupy them. The new-comers made those once barren lands to blossom like the rose; and by the famous defence of Londonderry they saved the throne to William of Orange and the realm to Protestantism. At the beginning of the eighteenth century these stanch Presbyterians fell a victim to test-oaths designed to suppress popery, but used as effectually to check Presbyterianism. Added to the religious persecution were the burdensome restraints on commerce that in Ireland were but the prelude to those later commercial restrictions which were to alienate the American colonies from the mother-country. Then, too, came the extortionate rents and the resulting evictions that in two years drove thirty thousand Scotch-Irish to seek a more abiding home beyond the seas, where, on the frontiers of Maryland and Virginia, Rev. Francis Makemie, in 1683, had founded the first Presbyterian churches in America.¹

Toleration Acts for a time put a check to this wholesale depopulation of the north of Ireland, but when in 1728 persecution again commenced, Ulster began to send annually twelve thousand persons to "a land where there was no legal robbery, and where those who sowed the seed could reap the harvest." This human stream struck eastern Pennsylvania, then turned southward through Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. In 1738, the Scotch-Irish in large numbers entered the valley beyond the Blue Ridge, and, with the exception of

¹ In Virginia the Presbyterians were the first sect to make headway against the prevailing intolerance. The conflict was carried on by Makemie, for whose followers the Toleration Act of William and Mary brought small share of indulgence. In 1699 there were but three or four Presbyterian meeting-houses in the colony. Three-quarters of a century later two-thirds of the population were dissenters. Lodge's *English Colonies in America*, p. 56.

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

like wealth and influence with themselves to organize a company for the purpose of settling the western country and trading with the Indians.

Lawrence Washington had married a daughter of the Hon. William Fairfax, whose cousin, Lord Fairfax, inherited the rich lands of the Culpeper grant made by Charles II., and comprising, in part, the greater portion of the Shenandoah Valley. Lord Fairfax was a graduate of Oxford; in early life he had been a man of fashion in London; and he had actually contributed one or two papers to the *Spectator*. A disappointment in love had driven him into the wilderness of the New World; and in the midst of the beautiful Shenandoah Valley he had built for himself a home that served as a resting-place between fox-hunts, and a place of business in his dealings with his tenants and the settlers to whom he sold his broad acres. The favorite companion of his lordship was George Washington, a younger brother of Lawrence. Young Washington, then a strapping youth of sixteen, enjoyed to the utmost the sport of riding to hounds; but his occupation was to make the surveys necessary for the sale of the lands to the thousands of immigrants then flocking into the fertile valley.¹

During the first half of the eighteenth century there

¹ In August, 1716, Governor Spotswood, leading a party of fifteen gentlemen, rangers, pioneers, Indians, and servants into the Shenandoah Valley, had reached the watershed between the rivers flowing into the Atlantic and those emptying into the Ohio. That the party was a merry one may be inferred from the fact that they drank the health of King George the First in Virginia wine both red and white, Irish usquebaugh, brandy, shrub, two kinds of rum, champagne, canary, cherry-punch, and cider. The distance traversed was 219 miles from Williamsburg. Campbell's *Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1860), p. 387.

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

came into Virginia a numerous immigration, chiefly from Germany and the north of Ireland. Edmund Burke, writing in 1761, places the number of white people in Virginia at between sixty and seventy thousand;¹ and, he says, "they are growing every day more numerous by the migration of the Irish, who, not succeeding so well in Pennsylvania as the more frugal and industrious Germans, sell their lands in that province to the latter, and take up new ground in the more remote counties in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina. These are chiefly Presbyterians from the northern part of Ireland, who in America are generally called Scotch-Irish." So early this new force in American affairs found recognition in England.²

It is well worth while here to trace the causes that led to results so overmastering in the making of the Northwest. About the time when the English colonists were planting themselves at Jamestown, another immigration, also under the auspices of James I., was going into Ireland, where the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, leaders in the great Catholic rebellions, were driven from the country and their confiscated estates parcelled among a body of Scotch and English sent across the

¹ *European Settlements in America*, ii., p. 216. (Fifth edition, 1770.)

² The population of Pennsylvania increased from 20,000 in 1701 to 250,000 in 1749, largely through the immigration of Scotch-Irish, and Germans from the Palatinate. James Logan, the Scotch-Irish governor of Pennsylvania during this period, was a Quaker, and had small love for Presbyterians. Through his efforts they were forced to the frontiers, where they formed an efficient barrier against the Indians. See *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*, by Douglass Campbell, ii., p. 484.

Burke's estimate of the population is much too low. In 1715 there were in Virginia 72,500 whites and 23,000 negroes. Only Massachusetts could show a larger population. See *Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood*, p. xi.

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

planter's London agent, who not only sold the product, but also made purchases of clothing, furniture, books, and wines for the planter's use. Royalists, aristocrats, firm believers in Church and State, these Virginians kept up all the traditions of England. Often they sent their sons to the mother-country to be educated; the young men served in the British army or navy during the frequent wars waged between England and France; and members of the British nobility, together with naval officers of rank and reputation, were welcome sharers of the abundant hospitality proverbial among the planters.

The Washington family may be taken as a type of tidewater Virginians. Belonging to the party of the king, the brothers John and Andrew Washington had come to America about the middle of the seventeenth century, when so many of the cavaliers found it convenient to escape from the rule of Cromwell. They purchased land between the Potomac and Rappahannock; John married, became a considerable planter, a fighter against the Indians, and a member of the House of Burgesses. As the family persisted from generation to generation, the estate increased; and three-quarters of a century after the coming of the brothers to America, the great-grandson of John had become the head of an established and influential colonial family. In the war that broke out between Spain and France and England in 1740, this Lawrence Washington went to the West Indies as a captain in the colonial regiment raised to aid the king; and during his military service he formed the acquaintance of men of the great world. As his father and grandfathers before him had set themselves to add to their domains, so Lawrence Washington was anxious to increase his holdings of land; and to this end he and his brother Augustine joined others of

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

borders were at the disposal of the king, and so continued until Virginia became a free and independent State. For a century from the dissolution of the Virginia corporation and the establishment of the royal government, the colonists found the lands east of the Alleghanies sufficiently extensive for their uses. They had come to the New World to establish homes for themselves and their posterity; and while an occasional trader penetrated the wilderness of the interior to barter with the Indians, yet there was in Virginia no organized traffic with the savages, such as flourished in Pennsylvania and New York.¹

The early colonists of Virginia had spread themselves over the country. Towns were few and there was no general trade. Selecting a commanding site on the banks of one of the numerous tidewater streams, the Virginia planter reared his stately mansion of wood, fashioned on the lines of a Greek temple. There, surrounded by his black slaves and white dependents, he lived his solitary life in true patriarchal style. Negroes imported from Africa tilled his broad acres planted with tobacco, a product that, like the flocks of early times, played the double part of the medium and the material of exchange. His one vital connection with the great world was the annual ship that came from England, bringing both the necessities and the luxuries of civilization; and returned laden with tobacco consigned to the

¹ In a letter to the Council of Trade, dated December 15, 1710, Governor Spotswood proposed a plan for carrying the Virginia settlements to the source of the James River, beyond the Blue Ridge, with a view of interposing between the French on the St. Lawrence and those on the Mississippi, and also to establishing trade with the Indians. From this letter it is to be inferred that there were already a few Virginia traders. Spotswood's *Official Letters*, Richmond, 1882, p. 40.

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

Atlantic back through unknown regions to the illusive South Sea dreamed of by adventurers through the ages, comprised within their infinite parallels all the Northwest save only the upper two-thirds of the present States of Michigan and Wisconsin. The lines of Virginia included the lower half of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; Connecticut, by virtue of her charter, claimed the upper half of that territory; and Massachusetts likewise obtained the shadow of a title to the southern half of Wisconsin and of the lower peninsula of Michigan. However, it was not until the Treaty of 1763 brought these regions within the actual possession of the British crown that the claims of Connecticut and Massachusetts could be made even upon paper. New York, too, had unsubstantial claims to the Ohio country, based on the conquests of its allies the Iroquois.

In 1624, the Virginia corporation having been dissolved by due process of law, both the powers of government and the title to the lands reverted in the crown of England.¹ Thus the colony was changed from a proprietary to a royal government, and the lands within its

¹ By the judgment of the Court of King's Bench on a writ of *quo warranto*, 8 Wheaton, pp. 545, 578.

The phrase "due process of law" must be regarded as a legal fiction. The facts are that King James, acting under Spanish influences, became jealous of the growth and power of the London Company, and determined to put an end to it. When Parliament would have resisted such action against the interests of many of its members who were also members of the company, the Speaker read a message from the king, forbidding that body to meddle with the matter; and later, when the case on the *quo warranto* came up before the Court of King's Bench, the Attorney-general gravely argued that the company, under its charter, might depopulate England to people Virginia. Such a catastrophe being too dreadful to contemplate, the Chief-justice declared the charter thenceforth to be null and void. See Fiske's *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, vol. i., p. 219.

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

Raleigh himself was too much engrossed with affairs of state to lead colonists in America; but in 1585 his captain, Sir Richard Grenville, founded upon Roanoke Island, in the present State of North Carolina, the first English settlement established on the continent of North America. The times, however, forbade the success of the undertaking; for the invincible Spanish Armada must be destroyed before colonization could flow unvexed across the seas. Thus it happened that it was not until 1607 that Raleigh's successors planted at Jamestown the first permanent English settlement in America. In 1609, under a new and enlarged charter, the "Treasurer and Company of Merchant Adventurers of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia" became possessed in absolute property of the lands extending along the sea-coast two hundred miles north and the same distance south from Old Point Comfort, and into the land throughout from sea to sea.¹

Again, in 1620, a charter was granted to the Duke of Lenox and others, organized under the name of the Plymouth Company, conveying to them all the lands between the fortieth and the forty-eighth degrees of north latitude. In the course of time these special charters were either annulled or surrendered, and the title to the lands reverted in the crown, to be disposed of from time to time as his majesty might see fit, in creating colonies along the Atlantic.

These early grants of lands, stretching from the known

¹ It was then believed that the parallel 40° was two hundred miles north of Cape Comfort. The instruments of measurement, however, were clumsy, and the computed length of a degree was not accurate, as Sir Isaac Newton found, nearly a century later. See "The Limits of Virginia," by Hon. Littleton W. Tazewell, in the *Virginia Historical Register*, 1848, p. 17.



SEBASTIAN CABOT



LAWRENCE WASHINGTON

(From a portrait by an unknown artist, in possession of Lawrence Washington, Alexandria, Virginia.)

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS

Acting under their charter¹ to discover countries then unknown to Christian people, and to take possession of them in the name of the King of England, these bold adventurers laid the foundations of the English title to the Atlantic coast.² It was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, that France and England followed up their discoveries, and began to perfect their respective titles by actual occupation of the regions discovered by their venturesome navigators.

In the year 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh, "the first man in England who had a right conception of the advantages of settlements abroad," and the only person who at that time had a thorough insight into trade and the proper methods of promoting it, "looked through the work of an age at one glance" and saw how advantageous it might be made to the trade of England to people the new world.³ Applying to that most enterprising of monarchs, Queen Elizabeth, he secured from his royal patron free liberty and license to discover, search, find out and view remote, heathen, and barbarous lands not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people.⁴

¹ *The Voyages of the Cabots*, Old South Leaflets, general series, No. 87.

² "So early as the year 1496, her (England's) monarch granted a commission to the Cabots, to discover countries then unknown to Christian people, and to take possession of them in the name of the King of England. Two years afterwards, Cabot proceeded on this voyage, and discovered the continent of North America, along which he sailed as far south as Virginia. To this discovery the English trace their title."—Opinion by Mr. Chief-justice Marshall, *Johnson vs. McIntosh*, 8 Wheaton, p. 571.

³ *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, vol. ii., p. 218. This work, published anonymously, was written by Edmund Burke.

⁴ *Historical Collections*, consisting of State Papers, by Ebenezer Hazard, contains Raleigh's patent, the assignment of it, the first and second charters of Virginia, and other like important documents.

CHAPTER III

THE ENGLISH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

THE daring enterprise of the French trader and the devoted heroism of the French missionary in their discovery of the Northwest have been related. Up the rapids of the St. Lawrence, through the chain of the vast inland seas, and down the rushing waters of the Mississippi swept the tide of French discovery. With the exception of a strip of land lying along the Atlantic and extending scarcely a hundred miles back into the wilderness, the continent of North America at the middle of the eighteenth century belonged to his most Christian majesty by the well-recognized right of discovery and occupation. In the court of nations it mattered nothing that the soil was in the actual possession not of Frenchmen but of Indians, and that the foot of white man had never trod more than the smallest fraction of the country over which France claimed dominion. While recognizing the policy of conciliating the Indians, France, nevertheless, claimed the exclusive right to acquire from them, and to dispose of, the land which they occupied, and to make laws for the government of the country.

In the year 1498, more than a third of a century before Jacques Cartier's little vessel ploughed her way up the broad St. Lawrence, the Cabots discovered the continent of North America, and sailed south as far as Virginia.